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LETTERS

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PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

oblige the Author

UPON THE SUBJECT

OF THE

Presidential Election.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN

THE UNITED STATES GAZETTE.

BY SIMON SNYDER,

A NATIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"If we suffer ourselves to be led captive by *Military Glory*, this Republic must inevitably share the same fate of all that preceded it."

LETTER, No. XX



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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

No. I.

To the People of Pennsylvania.

FELLOW CITIZENS—The southern states have so long been accustomed to consider Pennsylvania as one of their *dependencies*, that they now claim as a matter of right, that support which we had so long afforded them, from a spirit of conciliation, and from a tribute of respect to distinguished merit. Our present happy Constitution went into operation in March, 1789. Between that period, and the election of our present Chief Magistrate, *thirty-six years* elapsed, during which time Virginia furnished the nation with Presidents for *thirty two years*. *Twenty years* of that same period, the office of Secretary of State (which is next in importance to that of President) was filled by Virginians. We do not mention these circumstances as matters of complaint or reproach; but only as historical facts, to show that Virginia is the last state in the Union, who ought to complain of privation of political power. It may not however be improper to observe, that at the period when Pennsylvania gave Virginia her support, the latter furnished the Nation with a Washington, a Jefferson, a Madison, a Monroe. Now the destinies of Virginia are confided to very different hands.

We purpose in treating upon the question of the Presidential Election, amongst other matters, to endeavour to show, that the southern states have no *particular* claims to the support of Pennsylvania, more than to any other member of that Union, which we are all so deeply interested in preserving inviolate—that Union, which is the ark of our safety—the palladium of our independence.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. II.

The opposition of the southern states to all the great measures which so deeply affect the interest and prosperity of this Commonwealth, ought of itself to be a sufficient motive to induce us to withhold our support from their favorite candidate, who, if placed at the head of the Nation, would doubtless consider himself bound to give an undivided support to the policy of those, to whom he would be principally indebted for his elevation.

The southern states have uniformly opposed the great subject of Internal Improvement—a measure of such vital importance to the interests of this state. They also deny the right of Congress to protect the domestic industry of the country—thus sacrificing the rights of our fellow citizens who have invested their all in manufacturing establishments. Nor are they more favourably disposed to protect our commerce.

The distance of the capital of this Commonwealth from the Ocean, and the difficulty of navigating the Bay of the Delaware during the winter, renders a harbour at its entrance a measure of the highest importance to Pennsylvania; yet the southern delegation in Congress have uniformly opposed any appropriation to carry into effect that great and important object.

Influenced by considerations of justice and humanity, as well as sound policy, numbers of our distinguished fellow citizens, particularly in the southern states, formed themselves into a Society, for the purpose of colonizing our free black population upon the coast of Africa.

The views and objects of the Colonization Society, are of the highest importance to Pennsylvania. Our free black population is rapidly increasing, and becoming a burthen to the community, abundant evidence of the truth of which may be found in our Jails and Alms Houses.

To carry into effect the benevolent intentions of this Society, they applied to the National Legislature for pecuniary aid. But the greater part of the Southern delegation in Congress opposed the measure, as an unwarrantable interference with their rights, although the Constitution and Laws of the Society do not authorize it to extend its protection to any other than to free blacks.

These are some of the measures of importance to Pennsylvania to which southern politicians are decidedly opposed, and yet they call upon us to aid them in elevating their favourite candidate to the Presidential Chair.

In making these remarks we utterly disclaim all unfriendly feelings towards our southern brethren, or of wishing to draw invidious distinctions. But our Union we consider as the rock of our political salvation; and to insure to it perpetuity, its benefits must be as equally distributed as its burthens.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. III.

The science of governing men with wisdom, is the most important of all human science. Other sciences may refine the mind, reform the manners, and ameliorate the condition of human life; but, upon the correct and faithful administration of a free government, depends, not only the happiness and prosperity, but the very existence of a Nation.

What then are the qualifications necessary for a Chief Magistrate of the United States.

A capacious and highly cultivated mind—a sound judgment—a profound knowledge of, and reverence for the Constitution and Laws—spotless morals—inflexible integrity—ardent patriotism—industrious habits, and a deep knowledge of human nature.

In all these important qualifications, our present Chief Magistrate stands pre-eminent. But, what more particularly qualifies him for that high station, is, his intimate acquaintance with the policy of foreign governments towards us.

The object of the Union of these States, was to protect them against foreign powers; and no individual in this Nation, has had the same advantages as Mr. Adams, of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the policy of foreign nations towards our country.

It is well known to you all that Mr. Adams' father was appointed by the Congress of the Revolution, one of the commissioners to treat for peace with Great Britain; and afterwards minister to Holland. To the latter country he took with him his eldest son, our present Chief Magistrate, and placed him at the public school at Amsterdam.

In 1781, Mr. Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, secretary to the commission for treating of peace with Great Britain, was appointed, whilst in Holland, minister of the United States to the Empress of Russia. Our present Chief Magistrate accompanied Mr. Dana to St. Peters-

burg, in the capacity of private secretary. After remaining a year in Russia, Mr. Adams returned to Holland, where he resumed his studies.

It will no doubt be gratifying to our German brethren to learn, that the Chief Magistrate of the United States is well acquainted with their language, having received so considerable a part of his education in Holland, which at that time was the land of freedom.

General Washington early discovered Mr. Adams' distinguished talents, and in the year 1794, appointed him minister to Holland.

Since that period, Mr. Adams has repeatedly represented our country in the old world; thus enjoying an opportunity to discover the policy of European courts towards us, which ably qualifies him to defeat their machinations against our liberties.

Nothing reflects more credit upon a Nation, than by placing at its head, men as distinguished for virtue as for wisdom. Mr. Adams, to use his own language, considers, that "Virtue is the vital air of the moral world."

SIMON SNYDER.

No. IV.

If the immortal founder of this Commonwealth, could put on the garment of mortality, and descend from the mansions of bliss to visit this fair vineyard, planted by his own hand, what would be his surprize and gratulation to witness its unexampled increase in wealth and population—in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, as well as in the arts and sciences.

But what would also be his surprise when he learned of the total change which has taken place in the sentiments of the people, with respect to the qualifications necessary for the administration of civil government.

How painful would it be for him to find his political precepts so totally disregarded. With what regret would he learn that military services alone, are now considered a sufficient passport to the highest civil office. If not discouraged by the neglect of his former council, that illustrious Lawgiver might probably thus address us :

"Inhabitants of this happy Commonwealth!—To avoid
 "religious persecution, I accompanied your ancestors to
 "this New World, where we erected the standard of
 "freedom, and established a government founded upon the

“ eternal principles of justice and the unalienable rights of
“ man.

“ Subsequent events rendered it necessary for you to
“ make many important modifications in that frame of
“ government ; but considering the political changes which
“ you have undergone, and your altered population, I re-
“ gard your present Constitution, as the perfection of hu-
“ man wisdom. I observe with regret, a disposition
“ amongst you, to undervalue the qualifications necessary
“ for the administration of civil government. This is an
“ old error.

“ Socrates says, that none of his countrymen would em-
“ bark in the lowest mechanical profession, without having
“ served a regular apprenticeship to it ; yet he says, that
“ every man thought himself qualified for the most diffi-
“ cult of all trades, *that of governing men*. I very much
“ fear that you have fallen into the same error. Beware,
“ lest it prove fatal.

“ History is philosophy, teaching men wisdom by ex-
“ ample. Consult her faithful pages, and you will there
“ learn, that a *Camp* is not the most suitable place to stu-
“ dy the science of government, nor to imbibe a proper
“ veneration for your Constitution and laws.”

However imperfect this language, these would doubtless
be the sentiments of the illustrious founder of this Com-
monwealth.

In making these observations, we are far from wishing
to detract in the smallest degree from the well earned fame
of General Jackson.

He is a hero entitled to the gratitude of the nation ; but
we deny that military services alone, can give any man a
claim to the office of Chief Magistrate of this Union. It
is no disparagement to any individual to say that he is not
eminent in every profession or science.

If General Washington were living, and any man were
to tell him, that he was better qualified for the office of
Chief Justice of the United States than Judge Marshall,
we doubt not but that immortal patriot would consider
himself insulted by such an observation.

No body supposes that our present Chief Magistrate is
qualified to take the command of any army. Such a talent
is not necessary for the discharge of his public duty. The
Constitution, it is true, makes the President Commander-
in-Chief ; but the framers of that immortal instrument
never contemplated that he was to take the command of
the army *in person*.

How could the President, amidst the bustle of a camp, attend to the multifarious duties of Civil administration, and obey the Constitutional injunction “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed?”

The supreme military command must be lodged somewhere; and the Constitution has wisely confided it to him, who is charged with the faithful execution of the laws.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. V.

The election of our present Chief Magistrate by the House of Representatives of the United States, in strict conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, has given rise to much misrepresentation, and propositions have been made to deprive the House of this Constitutional power.

It is worthy of remark that Virginia and Georgia, who are the most clamorous at the election of Mr. Adams, and who exclaim loudest for the rights of the people, should have voted for Mr. Crawford, who did not receive but little more than half the suffrages given by the people to our present Chief Magistrate.

And here it may not be improper to observe, that Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and Delaware, by voting for the candidate the *lowest* upon the return, have, in their capacities of Sovereign States, solemnly recognized anew, the undoubted Constitutional right of the House of Representatives, to choose *either* of the three candidates returned to it.

It has, however, been contended, that whenever the choice of a President devolves upon the House of Representatives, that it is bound to choose the candidate having the *highest* number of Electoral Votes.

Such a construction of the Constitution, would render the arbitration of the House a mere mockery.

Let us examine a little into the true state of this great National question.

A President of the United States is to be chosen.—The people repair to the ballot boxes, and choose Electors, who afterwards vote for a President. Upon counting the votes in Congress, no candidate has a majority of the *whole* number of votes.

The framers of the Constitution foresaw this difficulty, and wisely provided a remedy. And what is the remedy?

The same remedy to which individuals resort, who have difficulties to adjust in the ordinary concerns of human life—to arbitration. And who has the Constitution appointed arbitrators, in this great National concern?

The immediate representatives of the people, to whom, (in conjunction with the Senate) the same Constitution has confided the power of making war, levying taxes, and disposing of the whole public revenue.

And yet we are told that men, to whom these high powers are delegated, are unworthy to be trusted in a question of *minor* importance.

Yes, of *minor* importance, for we consider that the power over the public sword and the public purse, a greater power, than that of choosing a President out of *three* candidates returned by the people to the House of Representatives.

If in case of a failure to elect a President by the people, the Constitution had authorized the House of Representatives, to choose the Chief Magistrate out of the Nation at large, then indeed would the House have been invested with a formidable power. But when the Nation selects *three* distinguished individuals for the office of President out of twelve millions of people, and sends them to the House of Representatives, backed by this evidence of public confidence, and merely asks the House, as arbitrators, to choose the Chief Magistrate out of these *three* candidates.—We say, if the House cannot be trusted with such a power as this, the defect is not in the Constitution of the United States, but in the Constitution of Human Nature.

We however think, that the House of Representatives may be safely trusted with this power, and our confidence in that opinion is strengthened, by the wisdom shown in the last exercise of it.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. VI.

The office of President of the United States, is a *civil* office, requiring the highest civil qualifications, to execute its important duties with fidelity. The Military power with which the Constitution clothes this office, is a supervising power—a power to be exercised by delegation.

We are however told, that military talents are necessary to discharge the duties of Chief Magistrate; and as a proof of it, we are reminded that the first President of the United States, chosen after the adoption of the Constitution,

was a military man. Yes, Washington was a military man; but *he* was an exception to all other men. Amidst the din of arms, *he* never lost sight of his duties as a citizen. Throughout the vicissitudes of an eventful Revolution—in the day of peril, and in the day of glory—in Council, and in the tented field, Washington invariably acknowledged the supremacy of the civil authority, and uniformly evinced a sacred regard for the majesty of the Laws.

Washington was chosen by his native State, a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, of which body he was unanimously elected President. In that august Assembly, principally composed of Nature's Nobility; the great principles of civil government were faithfully and solemnly expounded. No man could have been a member of that Convention, and retired from it, without having fully understood, both by the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, that the military was a *subordinate* power—that the government created, *was a government of laws*. With a perfect knowledge, therefore, of the principles upon which the Constitution was framed, Washington was chosen to fill the highest trust under it. With what fidelity he executed that high trust is known to you all.

Whenever another military candidate is offered for the Presidency, with equal claims for public service—equally versed in the science of government, and who can furnish equal testimonials of his *reverence for the sanctity of the laws*, he will have a high claim to the first civil honor, within the pale of the Constitution.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. VII.

No event that has occurred since the adoption of our present happy Constitution has given rise to so much misrepresentation, as the appointment of Mr. Clay to the office of Secretary of State.

Corruption, barter, bargain and sale of office, have been spoken of, with just as much apparent confidence, as if the parties making the charge believed it themselves.

To the Secretary of State is confided the important trust of conducting our intercourse with Foreign Nations. A trust, the violation of which, might compromise the peace of the Country.

The duties of most other offices, under our government,

are in a great measure defined by law ; but the duties of the Secretary of State, are in many respects discretionary; generally of high responsibility, and are often materially increased or diminished by the policy or caprice of Foreign Nations.

Responsible as the President of the United States is to the Nation, that the Secretary of State shall discharge with fidelity the high trust confided to him, is it reasonable to suppose that he would have conferred that office upon one who, it is alleged, had made to him a *corrupt overture*?

What security could he have for that man's virtue, who had once passed the moral Rubicon?

This charge therefore of corruption, carries with it upon its face, its own refutation.

Mr. Clay had been for twelve sessions of Congress, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and had taken an active part in all important measures which came before that Body.

When Great Britain invaded our rights by impressing our seamen and interdicting our Commerce with all other nations but herself, Mr. Clay took a prominent part in resisting that usurpation. When all friendly efforts to obtain redress failed, he boldly and zealously advocated an appeal from reason to force.

He had assisted in negotiating a treaty of peace with Great Britain, as soon as she returned to a sense of justice. He had uniformly advocated the great question of internal improvement, and the protection of the domestic industry of the country.

He had received the entire votes of three States, and a part of the vote of a fourth, for the Presidency. These, fellow citizens, were doubtless some of the motives which induced our Chief Magistrate to appoint Mr. Clay to the important office of Secretary of State.

It is therefore obvious, that he owes his elevation to his distinguished public services—to the vigor of his own intellect, and to the commanding power of his own native genius.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. VIII.

We hear a constant clamour from certain quarters about *State Rights*.

Believing as we do, that these alleged grievances, are mere pretexts, made use of by designing politicians, to pre-

judice the people of this Union against their rulers, with the view of supplanting them in power; we shall endeavour to show how unfounded are these pretensions, and how dangerous are their consequences.

When individuals unite in society and form a civil compact, they surrender a part of their rights, in order to have the remainder better guaranteed.

Just so with sovereign States, who confederate together for mutual protection. They surrender a portion of their sovereignties, to guard the rest against a common danger.

When Great Britain asserted her right to tax these States without allowing them a representation in Parliament, and afterwards proceeded to execute that claim by force of arms, the Colonies united for the purpose of resisting that unlawful demand. That Union at its commencement was very feeble. Those who had but few rights themselves, had but little to delegate.

When, however, Independence was declared, a new era commenced in our history. It then behoved the States to have clothed Congress with ample power to have called forth the resources of the country.

If they had adopted that course, it is confidently believed that the enemy would have been expelled, and the revolution terminated at least two years sooner. But even at that early period of our history, the States reluctantly parted with any portion of their power, and this tenacious regard for State sovereignty, came nigh prostrating the whole Union at the feet of the common enemy.

General Washington, in a confidential letter* to a member of Congress, early in the year 1780, says :—"Certain am I, that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone; unless they are vested with powers by the several States, competent to the great purposes of the war, or assume them as a matter of right; and they and the States respectively, act with more energy than they have hitherto done, *that our cause is lost.*

"One State will comply with a requisition from Congress; another neglects to do it; and a third executes it by halves, and all differ in the manner or the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill.

"This, my dear sir, is plain language to a member of Congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application and

*Vide Marshall's Life of Washington.

strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into *thirteen*. I see one army branching into *thirteen*, and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, consider themselves as dependant upon their respective States."

Here is a picture drawn by a master; and this, fellow citizens, is the condition to which our present advocates for what is called *State Rights* would reduce us, by *their* construction of the Constitution of the United States—a construction which would render our bond of union a *mere rope of sand*—a construction, which would eventually degrade the general government to the condition of mere commissioners of the State sovereignties.

We shall renew the consideration of this important subject, which is of deep interest to every American who justly prize the inestimable blessings of our happy Constitution.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. IX.

We are told by the advocates for *State Rights*, that unless we resist the encroachments of the general government, that the State sovereignties will be merged into one consolidated body. We should treat this as a mere phantom of the imagination, if we did not know that it was a *finesse*, resorted to by artful politicians, to promote their own ambitious views.

The consequences, however, which may result from the promulgation of such doctrines, are sufficient to alarm every friend of the Constitution.

Resolutions were recently passed by the Legislature of Virginia, denying the right of the general government to make internal improvements, or to lay any duty upon foreign merchandize, for the purpose of protecting the national industry of the country. At the same time when these resolutions passed, the following resolution was offered:

"Resolved,—That the Legislature of Virginia will sustain the general government in the exercise of its legitimate powers."

This resolution passed, Yeas, *twelve*—Nays, *ten*.

Yes, fellow citizens, TEN Senators of the Legislature of Virginia, during a time of profound peace and tranquility,

voted that they would not support the general government in the exercise of its constitutional authority !!

When we recollect that several others of the Southern States, have passed resolutions denying the right of the general government to exercise powers evidently delegated by the Constitution. When we reflect upon the conduct of the Executive government of Georgia, in resisting the execution of a treaty with the Creek Indians—a treaty which had been constitutionally ratified by the President, and two-thirds of the Senate of the United States, and had thereby become the supreme law of the land. A treaty, by which the honor and good faith of this nation, were solemnly pledged to these *children of the Forrest*, that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their lawful rights. When we reflect upon these circumstances, we cannot but consider that the Constitution is in danger. Not from the general government, but from the unfounded pretensions of State authorities.

What sort of a national government, these advocates for *State Rights* desire, we are not aware: but as they wish the States to retain all the rights of sovereignty, the general improvement could be but a shadow, like our confederation, wholly inefficient, both in war and peace.

The utter incompetency of such a government, is well described in a letter* from General Washington to a friend, dated October, 1785, in which he says:—"The war, as you have very justly observed, has terminated most advantageously for America, and a fair field is presented to our view; but I confess to you freely, my dear sir, that I do not think that we possess wisdom or justice enough to cultivate it properly.

"Illiberality, jealousy and local policy, mix too much in all our public councils, for the good government of the Union. In a word, the Confederacy appears to me to be little more than a shadow, without the substance; and the Congress, a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to.

"To me it is a solecism in politics,****Indeed one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a Nation, and *yet be afraid to give to the rulers of that nation*, who are the creatures of our own making, and appointed for a limited and short duration, sufficient power to order and direct the affairs of the same.

*Vide Marshall's Life of Washington.

“ From the high ground upon which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness.”

Such, fellow citizens, was the deplorable condition of our country as described by Washington himself, and from which we were rescued by adopting our present happy constitution. And shall we now contribute to elevate those into power, who avow their hostility to it ?

No, fellow citizens, we are now convinced that you will not ; but that you will give your support to those who reverence that Constitution, and who now administer it with so much credit to themselves and honor to our country.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. X.

The State sovereignties may be quite competent for the administration of justice between their own inhabitants, and for the preservation of internal tranquility; but all history must be lost upon us, before we can believe that a cluster of Republics like these United States, would long survive a dissolution of their Union. The strong would soon oppress the weak, and by dissensions amongst themselves, they would all become a prey to foreign powers.

However we may boast of *State Rights*, or complain of *State wrongs*, we have no safety, but in Union : and unless our national government is supported in the exercise of the authority with which the Constitution clothes it, that Union cannot be preserved.

Nearly all great events have arisen from small causes, and unless we show our indignation at these repeated attacks upon our Constitution, it will soon be regarded, not as a tender parent watching over our rights and shielding us from danger ; but as a jealous step-mother, desirous of enlarging her own authority, and regardless of the welfare of those committed to her care.

To all those who believe that this Union could be long maintained, if the General government were divested of the power now claimed by some of the States, we would recommend a serious perusal of that part of our history between the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and the adoption of our present Constitution.

General Washington, in reply to a letter* of a friend,

*Vide Marshall's Life of Washington.

dated 1786, says, “ Your sentiments that our affairs are drawing to a crisis, accord with my own.***We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our Confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not consider that we can long exist as a nation, without lodging somewhere *a power which will pervade the whole Union, in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States.*

“To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert them for the detriment of the people, without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointment, must they not mingle with the mass of citizens?***We must take human nature as we find it; perfection falls not to the share of mortals.***Requisitions are a perfect nullity, where thirteen sovereign, independent and *dis-united* States, are in the habit of discussing, and refusing or complying with them at their option.

“If you tell the Legislatures that they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the Confederacy, they will laugh in your face. It is much to be feared that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared to any revolution whatever.

“What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government *without horror*. From thinking proceeds speaking, and thence to acting, is often but a single step.***What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions!”

Such, fellow-citizens, was the language, and such the sentiments of Washington, upon the alarming situation of public affairs, in the year 1786. A crisis, which was in a great measure occasioned by the feebleness of the general government produced by State jealousy. And yet our present advocates for *State Rights*, are desirous of restoring to the States, the same power which they enjoyed under the Confederation!!

We shall conclude this address in the same language which Washington uses in the letter from which we have

made these extracts: "Would to God, that wise measures may be taken in time, to avert the consequences which we have too much reason to apprehend."

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XI.

The opponents of the present administration deny the constitutional power of Congress, to pass any law, imposing duties, for the purpose of protecting the national industry of the country.

We do not know any better mode of understanding the Constitution, than by an examination of the opinions and practice of those who framed it.

Immediately after the organization of the first Congress, which assembled by virtue of our present Constitution, a law was enacted, levying duties upon all merchandize imported into the United States. The following is the preamble to that act of Congress:

"Whereas, it is necessary for the support of government, and for the discharge of the debts of the United States, *and the encouragement and protection of manufactures*, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandize imported."

Mr. Madison, who is justly called the Father of our Constitution, was a member of the House of Representatives when this law was under discussion; and in the course of his remarks upon this bill he observed:—"That the States which are most advanced in population and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interests attended to.—Whilst these states retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present Constitution, *they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands*. They must have done this with an expectation, that their interest would not be neglected *here*,"

Mr. Fitzsimons, who was also a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, was a member of Congress at the time that law passed. When this bill was under discussion, he moved an amendment to it, for the purpose of enlarging the catalogue of articles to be subject to duty. In offering this amendment, Mr. Fitzsimons observed, "that amongst the articles which he wished to subjoin to the list reported by the committee, were some

calculated to encourage the productions of the country and *to protect our infant manufactures.*"

In addition to this testimony in support of the authority of Congress to protect our national industry, it may not be improper to observe, that there were a number of other members of the national legislature, when this first Revenue Bill passed, who were members of the Convention, and who certainly ought to have understood the Constitution, as well as our modern advocates for State Rights, many of whom were not then born.

General Washington was also a member of the Convention and President thereof; and in his capacity of President of the United States, had a right to put his negative upon that bill, if it had sanctioned principles, inconsistent with his view of the Constitution. That he had the firmness to exercise that right, when necessary, we have abundant proof in his rejection of "the bill for the apportionment of Representatives." After this conclusive testimony in favour of the right of Congress to impose duties for the protection of domestic manufactures, we can but consider any opposition to this constitutional power merely calculated for electioneering purposes.

But although Congress possesses the right to protect the national industry of the country, by imposing duties favourable to domestic manufactures, yet it is a power which they are bound to exercise with great prudence and discretion; always bearing in mind that there are other branches of national industry, equally entitled to national protection, and equally under the safeguard of the laws.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XII.

The rapid increase of our black population affords cause of alarm to all who justly prize our domestic peace, and the stability of our institutions. The ingenuity of man had long been taxed to devise some scheme in relation to this subject, by which public tranquility might be guarded, without invading the right of private property, or infringing the laws of humanity.

Of all the measures yet suggested to accomplish this great National work, the plan adopted by the American Colonization Society, appears to be the most politic and practicable.

It has in fact actually succeeded; and a Colony now ex-

ists on the shores of Africa, planted by this Society, consisting of upwards of five hundred souls, who according to the most authentic intelligence, from that quarter, enjoy a high degree of prosperity.

Judge Washington is President of this Society; and Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawford are amongst its Vice Presidents, as well as many other distinguished citizens of the southern states. If the General Government would extend its fostering hand to this Society, there could be no doubt of its eventual success.

Every application, however, which has been made to Congress to promote this great National object—an object so dear to Pennsylvania, has been resisted by *the opposition to the present administration*.

At the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, held at Washington, in January last, Mr. Clay addressed that body, in support of a resolution offered by himself, empowering and directing the Board of Managers, to make respectful applications, both to Congress and to the State Legislatures, for pecuniary aid in the furtherance of the views of the Society.

After stating the actual condition and future prospects of the Society, Mr. Clay observed:—

“There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa, her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil, the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty.

“May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the Universe, thus to transform an original crime, into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate people of the Globe. * * * * * *

“Every emigrant to Africa, is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion and free institutions. We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. This society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquility. It addresses itself to no slave, to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property.

* * * * * *

“Composed of freemen, it concerns itself only with the free. For collateral consequences, we are not responsible.*****What would they, who reproach us have done? If they would repress all the tendencies towards Liberty, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of

this society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return.***They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberty and their happiness.

“And when they have achieved all their purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery. * * * *

“Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when collected upon the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and of ocean which they encountered, successfully laid the foundation of this glorious Republic.”

These, fellow citizens, are a few extracts from the concluding part of Mr. Clay’s eloquent address, delivered before the American Colonization Society at its last meeting. An address, which points out the true remedy for the evils of which it treats, and which bears evident marks of a sound judgment, and an enlightened forecast.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XIII.

One of the heaviest charges brought against our present Chief Magistrate, is, that he has expressed his opinion, that the Constitution of the United States has vested in Congress, the power to improve the condition of our country, by means of constructing Roads and Canals.

This, his opponents declare to be an alarming power—a power which they say will eventually prostrate the sovereignty of the States.

It is true, that the Constitution of the United States, contains no *express* grant of this power; but it is evidently an incidental power, growing out of other powers *expressly* delegated.

It is a matter of no small surprise, that any anxiety should be felt upon the subject of this power, when we re-

flect with how much more formidable powers the Constitution *actually* clothes Congress.

What would be thought of an individual, possessed of a large estate, who would confide to another his sword and his purse—his honor and his fame; and also give to him authority to borrow whatever money he pleased, pledging his estate for the payment of it; and yet at the same time declare, that he had not sufficient confidence in that individual to trust him with his *walking cane*?

Such conduct, on the part of an individual, would be considered as capping the climax of folly and absurdity. And yet it would not be more preposterous than the conduct of those States, who are afraid to confide to Congress the power of improving the internal condition of the country, after having delegated to that body, other trusts of so much greater magnitude.

By accepting the Constitution of the United States, these States have given to Congress the power:—To levy War—to raise Armies—to build a Navy—to lay and collect internal taxes—to impose duties upon foreign merchandize, and to dispose of the whole public revenue at their pleasure—To borrow money on the credit of the United States; pledging the public faith and the public revenue, for the reimbursement of it—and yet after delegating to Congress these important trusts, and many others, they are afraid to confide to this same Congress, the *high* power—TO MAKE A ROAD—TO BUILD A BRIDGE, OR TO DIG A DITCH!

Man is said to be a rational being, yet we have abundant proof, that he does not always act like one.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XIV.

For upwards of three hundred years, the inhabitants of our Southern hemisphere, had groaned under a yoke of worse than Egyptian bondage—a slavery of the mind. What scenes of horror and devastation has the faithful historian recorded, of events which have occurred in South America! Again and again, has the soil of that delightful portion of the globe, been crimsoned with the blood, and whitened with the bones of its inhabitants, to gratify Spanish cupidity.

At length an indignant people burst assunder the chains of a foreign despotism, and assumed to themselves a rank

amongst the nations of the earth. When they had reached the threshold of freedom, our government sent Ambassadors of friendship, to greet them at the portals of Liberty, and welcome them into the great family of Nations. Scarcely, however, had they assumed the duties of Sovereignty, before their former oppressor, uniting with an *un-holy* league, plotted their overthrow.

Whenever tyrants combine, freemen should unite. Acting upon this principle, these States resolved to assemble in General Congress, to consult upon measures for their common defence; to which Congress, they respectfully invited our government to send Representatives.

As the projected crusade of the Holy Alliance, would have been a war of opinion—the divine right of Kings, against the divine right of self government, it is a matter of surprise, that these infant Republics should have asked the aid of our advice and our counsel? Other considerations, however, made it *our* interest to be represented at that Congress.

The United States are now the second Commercial nation in the world.

Our Commerce with South America, is daily becoming more extensive. It was therefore of high importance to make an early impression upon these States, of the value of a liberal commercial connection with this country, and the ruinous consequences of granting exclusive privileges in trade to any nation.

It was also of great importance to us to form a conventional stipulation with the new States, defining such part of the law of nations, as relates to blockade and contraband of war, as these subjects have been a ~~frightful~~ source of strife between us, and the European powers.

Influenced by these considerations, the President promptly accepted the invitation, to send Representatives to the Congress of Panama. But when he called upon the Senate to confirm their appointments, and upon the House of Representatives to make the necessary appropriations, what was the conduct of the present opposition?

Gladly would we blot the remembrance of it from our history.

They not only denied the policy of the measure, but the constitutional right of the President, to create such a mission, *without consulting the Senate?*

Did not Mr. Jefferson purchase Louisiana *without consulting the Senate?* Yes, Louisiana, “a Territory larger than the Roman Empire, in the zenith of its glory.” And what was the opinion of Congress and the people of the

United States, of the conduct of Mr. Jefferson upon that occasion? They not only placed the seal of their approbation upon that measure; but considered that it was alone sufficient to give immortality to his name.

The Constitutional authority of the Senate, in relation to a mission or a Treaty, is confined to a simple Yea or Nay. Such, Mr. Madison told the Senate in 1813, "was his view of the Constitution, as well as the established practice under it."

We have, however, abundant proof, that the opposition did not proceed from Constitutional objections. Let one fact suffice. Mr. Seaton,* one of the Editors of the *National Intelligencer*, declares that one of the opposition Senators observed in his presence, on being rallied on the triumph of the Administration party, on the Panama Mission,—“Yes, they have beaten us by a few votes, after a hard battle; but if they had only taken *the other side, and refused the Mission*, we would have had them.”

Thus, fellow citizens, was an important public measure obstructed for nearly two months, at an enormous public expence; and all other public business in a great measure suspended, merely that the opposition might endeavor to supplant those in power.

Comment upon such a proceeding is unnecessary.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XV.

The friends of General Jackson contend, that because he had the highest number of electoral votes, that the House of Representatives was bound from that circumstance, *and from that alone*, to have chosen him President.

Without discussing the absurdity of submitting a question to arbitration, and at the same time depriving the arbitrators of all free agency, we shall proceed to offer some brief remarks upon the dangerous consequences of allowing a plurality of votes to be sufficient to elect a President.

Until a recent period of our history, the public attention had been directed, in the choice of a President, to a few illustrious individuals distinguished for their revolutionary services.

A new era, however, has now arrived, when every man

*Vide Washington Telegraph, April 19th.

considers, that he has equal claims to public honors. Formerly we had but two candidates for the Presidency. Last contest we had four; and the period is not distant, when every state will have at least *one* candidate of her own.

Whenever there are more than two Presidential candidates, the choice will generally devolve upon the House of Representatives. If, therefore, the principle be once settled, that the House is bound to choose the candidate having the highest number of votes, *that state, having the largest free population, would always furnish the President.*

If we consulted only the local pride of Pennsylvania upon this subject, we might not object to such an interpretation of the Constitution; because, although this state is now only the second in population, we see no reason why she may not soon become the first.

Our legislature, by adopting a wise system of internal improvement, has opened to us inexhaustible sources of wealth, which will necessarily be followed by a rapid increase of population.

The permanence of our Union, however, we consider paramount to all other considerations; and that Union cannot long be maintained, unless its benefits and its honors, are as equally distributed as its burthens.

The doctrine that the plurality of votes ought at all times to govern the House of Representatives in the choice of a President, would eventually exclude from the highest honors of the Republic, all states not of the first order in population; and we therefore think that these states should ponder well, before (to gain a temporary advantage) they consent to engraft so dangerous a principle upon the Constitution.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XVI.

The firmness and moderation which have distinguished the conduct of our present Chief Magistrate, in relation to the Georgia controversy, have given him new claims to public gratitude. The style and language of the Executive of Georgia, were no doubt evidently intended to irritate the President, in the hope, that he might, in an unguarded moment, have said or done something which might have compromised the dignity of his station.

Forty years experience, however, in public life, has

given him some knowledge of mankind; and he rises too early, to become the dupe of vanity and presumption.

Since the close of our revolutionary war, Georgia has been repeatedly engaged in some controversy with the general government, respecting the lands occupied by the Indians, within what she was pleased to call her limits.

During Mr. Monroe's administration, the Georgia delegation in Congress, were loud in their remonstrances against what they called injustice.

Mr. Calhoun, after having been seven years Secretary of War, made a report upon this subject, to the President, on the 29th March, 1824, from which we make the following extract:—

“With the Cherokees, there have been held two Treaties, both since the late war, by which Georgia has acquired 995,310 acres, which added to that acquired by the treaties with the Creek nation, make 15,744,000 acres, that have been ceded to Georgia, since the date of the Convention, in fulfilment of its stipulations.”***

After stating that the United States had paid to Georgia, upwards of seven millions of dollars, on account of the territory claimed by her, Mr. Calhoun proceeds to observe:—“The United States have ever been solicitous to fulfil, at the earliest period, the obligations of the Convention, by the extinguishment of the Indian titles within the limits of Georgia—a most satisfactory proof of which, may be found in the number of treaties which have been held for that purpose; the quantity of lands which have been acquired, and the price paid.—In fact, such has been the solicitude of the government, that but little regard has been had to the price, whenever it has been found possible to obtain a cession of lands to that state. *The price given, has far exceeded that which has ever been given in other purchases from the Indians.*”

Here then we have the testimony of the Vice President of the United States, that Georgia, so far from having any just cause of complaint against the general government, has been treated with a liberality and generosity, which no other state has experienced.

To ascertain the true merits of the pretensions of Georgia, it is necessary to go back to the close of our revolutionary war, and examine what just title she had to the immense territory claimed by her.

The vague manner in which most of the first Patents, granted by the British monarchs, was expressed, created

great difficulty in ascertaining the proper boundaries of the states.

For instance, the first Colonial Charter, granted by Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, authorising him "To take possession of such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, as were not actually possessed by any "Christian Prince or People."

The Patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, was to the same effect.

By the Charter of Massachusetts, its western boundary was the SOUTH S. A.

The boundaries of many other states, were equally undefined; but during the revolutionary war, it was well understood, that all that part of the country inhabited by savages, and not within the acknowledged jurisdiction of any state, was to be considered as national property.

A writer in the Delaware Journal, who wields a masterly pen, justly observes, "That these waste and unsettled tracts of country, which lay within ideal limits, and beyond the ordinary jurisdiction and control of the states, were in truth and justice, after the revolution, the common property of the Union; having been acquired, conquered and rescued from the dominion of Great Britain, by the common toil, blood and treasure of the Union."

Virginia, to her credit be it spoken, viewed the subject in this light, and ceded to the Union *the whole of the North Western Territory*, for which she had a title by conquest, as well as a British monarch's grant. New York, Massachusetts, and all other states owning such lands, *except Georgia*, pursued the same course. She is the only state, who has received a dollar from the public Treasury, for vacant lands, and the only state who has threatened to make war with the Union. We think that every dispassionate person who will calmly investigate the respective rights of the United States, and the rights of a state, to that undefined territory, inhabited by savages, will come to this conclusion—That by the treaty of peace of 1783, all that description of Territory became the common property of these states, conquered by the united wisdom of their councils, and the united valor of their arms.

We shall conclude these remarks in the language of the able writer in the Delaware Journal, to whom we before referred:

"We are reviving in the nineteenth century, the days of Pizarro and Cortez; for truly it would seem, that American avarice of *Indian lands* does not yield an inch to "Spanish avarice of *Indian gold*."

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XVII.

Considering General Jackson, as possessing that lofty sense of honor which is the distinguished characteristic of a soldier, we take it for granted, that in the contest for the Presidency, he wishes nothing more than a fair and honorable competition.

When we see the daily slanders propogated against our present Chief Magistrate, by those who call themselves the friends of General Jackson, we cannot but notice the striking contrast, between the opinions and conduct of the General himself, and that of those who advocate him.

In his celebrated correspondence with President Monroe, in 1817, upon the subject of the new cabinet, Gen. Jackson thus expresses himself of Mr. Adams:—

“I have no hesitation in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the department of State, that could be made.

“Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, will be an able helpmate; and I am convinced that his appointment will afford universal satisfaction.”

Such was the candid and honest opinion which General Jackson entertained of Mr. Adams in 1817, and his conduct at Washington, the winter of the Presidential Election, was in perfect accordance with it.

The evening of the day on which the House of Representatives chose the President, General Jackson met Mr. Adams at President Monroe's.

He immediately came up, and taking him by the hand, congratulated him upon his election.

Again—General Jackson was present when Mr. Adams was installed into the Presidential Chair; and after he had delivered his inaugural speech, the General congratulated him anew.

It may not be improper here to observe, that General Jackson was at Washington the whole of the winter of the election, and knew every circumstance connected with it.

Now, if there had been any foundation for the charges of bribery and corruption, so freely circulated, how could Gen. Jackson have given any countenance to an individual elevated by such means, to the highest honors of the Republic?

No—General Jackson was well aware, that there was not the shadow of a foundation for these charges—that the election was conducted in strict conformity, with both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution.

He therefore evinced a becoming respect towards a successful rival, by thus publicly rebuking slander.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XVIII.

It is a matter of no small surprise that men, who justly appreciate the blessings of a free government, should be indifferent, to whom the administration of it is confided.

We have received from our forefathers a precious heritage, which we are bound by every moral obligation, to transmit unimpaired to posterity.

We are induced to make these observations from reflecting upon the indifference, shown at the last Presidential Election, by the great majority of our fellow citizens of this state.

The office-hunters, it is true, made a loud clamour ; but we allude to the great body of the independent yeomanry of the state :—the back-bone of the Commonwealth.

It is a fact which cannot be controverted, that at the last Presidential Election, there were at least *one hundred and sixty thousand persons* in this state, entitled to the right of suffrage ; and yet the whole number of votes given for the four Presidential candidates together, amounted to but *forty seven thousand two hundred*.

This we consider a culpable negligence.

The right of choosing our Rulers, is a precious right.

A right purchased by the blood and treasure of the nation.

We therefore owe it, not less as a tribute of respect to the memory of our fathers, than a solemn duty to ourselves and to posterity, to examine into the respective merits of candidates for high public trusts, and to record our testimony thereof, at the ballot boxes.

To this highly favoured nation is confided the great experiment, whether or not, man is capable of self-government. If this great experiment fail, the world is destined to experience another long night of barbarism.

Let us therefore not suffer history to tell posterity, that an enlightened people, betrayed the sacred cause of freedom ; and let us ever bear in mind, that our venerated constitution is a *civil* compact, which recognizes no authority above the sovereignty of the laws.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XIX.

The policy and conduct of those who now administer the affairs of the general government, differ so widely from the views and proceedings of the opposition in Congress, upon many great national questions, that we shall present you with a portrait of both, that you may judge which of these two great parties, actually represent your interests and feelings.

The present administration consider that the true interests of the country are best promoted ;—

1. By improving the internal condition of the country, so that its produce may be brought to market both expeditiously, and upon reasonable terms.

2. By encouraging foreign commerce, so that we may find a market for our surplus produce abroad.

3. By protecting the domestic industry of the country, by means of a judicious tariff.

4. By increasing and improving the condition of our navy, as our *safest* and most efficient arm of national defence.

5. By encouraging the colonization of our free black population upon the coast of Africa.

6. By aiding with our friendly counsel, our republican brethren in South America, in their great struggle for the divine right of self-government.

These, fellow citizens, are all measures which the present administration of the general government have zealously advocated. What has been the conduct of the opposition, upon these subjects, you are doubtless aware. The records of Congress will show :—

1. That they deny the constitutional power of Congress to make roads and canals ; so that each state, (according to their construction,) must make its own improvements, instead of its being paid out of the national treasury.

2. They defeated the passage of the West India Bill, introduced into Congress, by the friends of the administration, which might have still left the door open to negotiation with Great Britain, relative to the trade of her colonies.

3. They deny the constitutional right of Congress, to lay any duty to protect domestic manufactures.

4. They struck out of the Navy Bill, the section providing for a Naval Academy, when every man at all acquainted with the science of the human mind knows the importance of early instruction.

5. They refused to grant any appropriation, to aid the "Colonization Society" in their benevolent efforts to remove to Africa, such parts of our free black population, as might choose to return to the land of their forefathers.

6. They denied the right of the President to accept of the invitation of our South American brethren to attend the Congress of Panama, who stood so much in need of our counsel upon the great principles of self-government.

Here, fellow citizens, you are presented with a brief summary of the views and policy of those who now wield, and of those who desire to direct the destinies of this great nation. Can you for a moment hesitate to decide, who is most worthy of our confidence?

It is now upwards of forty years since our present Chief Magistrate first entered the public service, in the capacity of private secretary to our minister to Russia. Since that period, he has ~~passed~~ ^{risen} through all the various grades of civil office, to the highest known to the constitution.

Fellow citizens, our government is a government of laws, which does not derive its support so much from the physical force, as from the moral power of the nation.

In selecting a chief ruler, we ought to bear in mind, that morality is one of the main pillars of human happiness. By confirming anew our confidence in our present Chief Magistrate, we shall give another proof of our devotion to the cause of virtue.

In wielding the political power of the government, he will continue to reflect the moral image of the nation.

SIMON SNYDER.

No. XX.

With this number we close our remarks upon the *important* subject, to which we have ventured to call your attention.

We say *important*, because we consider that no question has been agitated since the adoption of our present Constitution, of so much interest to the American people.

This importance does not attach to the simple question, whether Mr. Adams or General Jackson, is best qualified for the Presidency.

The question for the consideration of the American people is—*Can the high prize of the Chief Magistracy of this Republic, be conquered upon a field of battle?*

If so, we may soon bid adieu to that venerable Constitution, which we have been educated to consider as the fairest fabric of human wisdom.

Yes, fellow citizens, if we suffer ourselves to be led captive by *Military glory*, this Republic must inevitably share the same fate of all that preceded it.

In making this observation, we mean no disrespect to General Jackson, whose important public services entitle him to public gratitude. But we apprehend great danger from the *alarming precedent* which it would establish, of rewarding military services with the highest civil honors.

“One precedent justifies another. What is custom to-day, will be law to-morrow.”

“History, fellow citizens, is philosophy, teaching man wisdom by example.” Let us not shut our eyes upon her faithful pages

Whilst referring to military services, it may not be improper to observe, that those who devote a long life to the *civil* service of their country, have also some claims to public gratitude.

That wisdom *in council*, which foresees and averts danger, is often of equal value, with that military skill which conquers victory upon the field.

We should doubt very much, if any military achievement, since the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, has been of so much importance to this country, as the purchase of Louisiana. Spain ceded that immense territory to France. Napoleon had appointed Marshall Bernadotte, the present King of Sweden, (one of the first warriors of the age) its military Governor.

Commanding the mouth of the Mississippi, France would have endeavoured to dismember our Union. Mr. Jefferson foreseeing that danger, averted it, by adopting the wise measure of purchasing Louisiana.

But mark the difference between civil and military services. General Jackson, for defending the Capital of this same Louisiana, is considered entitled to the Presidency, whereas Mr. Jefferson, who annexed that vast territory to our Union, without shedding one drop of human blood, found it difficult to obtain the privilege of a Lottery, to enable him to sell his estate, in order to keep the Sheriff out of his house.

Fellow citizens, the office of President of the United States, is a *civil* office. Nothing short of the highest *civil* qualifications, can enable any man to discharge its important duties, either with credit to himself, or advantage to the Nation.

Our Constitution is a *civil* compact. The *civil* authority *must* govern—*must* be supreme, or that Constitution *must* perish.

In concluding these remarks, the writer of them begs leave to observe, that he has no other interest in the great question at issue, than what is common to every other citizen of this highly favored land, which is the land of his nativity, as well as that of his forefathers.

The writer never had any thing to do with public life, nor does he wish it.

From early youth he has been engaged in commercial pursuits, which have frequently called him to Europe, *where* he has seen enough of the Empire of the Bayonet, to make him wish to live and die under the Empire of the Laws.

SIMON SNYDER.



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